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Names of the principal trees, etc.

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ra'ɔwɔk'a'wa, resin-wood.
xa'ɔjɔ, moss.
wat cutɔ, cedar (red cedar).
hɔtɔra'ɔa, ironwood.
wiɔɔ, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ɔa, round reed used for mats.
hi'ɔgɔ', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi panɔ, white cedar.
wa'ɔgɔ', poplar.
tra'ɔ hɔ'wa, birch.
tcaga, walnut.
pa'ɔ djɔ'ga, hickory.
trazu'ka, butternut.
ma'ɔ ɔa'gɔ', maple.
ruyi, willow.
ruk, ash.
tcaɔgɔ'ga, oak.
maɔk'a'ruk, elm.
hukɔiga, hazel.
ɔa'ɔ p'a'ga, cherry.
ɔa'ɔ ho'rgɔ, box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

Names of the principal vegetables and fruits

tcrra'hera, a water root.
wakaɔ'gara, root called "awl" root.
hu'ɔ'khoi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa'kxi, root found in lowlands.
ɔa'p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a'ɔc, plum.
kɔ' crabapple.
trɔɔa'ɔa', fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.
haxa'ɔatcga, raspberry.
hada'maɔkɔɔ, blackberry.
hadiaɔk', blueberries.
haɔdjɔk', strawberry.
hap'a'nup'unuxga, gooseberry.
hotcɔɔka', cranberry.
k'a'ɔc hi'ɔcak, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcɔ carɔtc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a'ɔetcɔwa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doka'wɔhi, prairie turnip.
hu'ɔa'ɔk, bean.
hu'ɔaɔk' ɔa'di, climbing bean.
hu'ɔa'ɔk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma'hi'ɔc, milkweed.

Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten

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waɔkrɔɔk, dogfish.
djadja'ɔka'k, mink.
dɔcɔ'na'ɔk, otter.
ho wak'a', eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
tcuxɔ'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no cutrila (u'djwɔju).
gopher.
bone.

Agriculture.—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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of impressing its name upon the whole division, we do not doubt for a moment. Other reasons may have led to the designation of the other half by the name of one of its component clans.

Similarly, among the Ponca, the Wajaje half corresponds to the Wajaje clan, the keepers of the sacred pipe; and among the Osage, the Tciju and the Hanga divisions of one side, and the Wajaje divisions of the other, correspond to the clans with the same name that are associated with important ceremonial-political functions. On the other hand, we have the fact that among the Kansa the names of the two large divisions are distinct from any of the clans in those divisions, and the same is true for the Tciju division of the Ponca. If we correlate this last fact with the apparent absence of any association of important ceremonial or political functions with specific clans, the suggestion might be permitted that no incentive existed in the minds of these people for the clan becoming identified with the larger divisions. Among the Winnebago the names for the divisions are quite different from those of the clans composing them, but at the present time the fact that the clan in each division has definite functions and powers has reacted on the interpretation of the social organization, and it is quite customary to refer to one half as *hupk* or "chiefs," and to the other as *manap'e* or "soldiers," although the latter is not common.

In short, we have a right to see, in all the facts mentioned, indications of a possible historical development whose characteristics seem to lie in the identification of the name and function of an important clan with that of a much larger division.

[182] The Winnebago social organization has long since broken down, but its details are still so well preserved in the minds of the older men, and particularly in the literature of the tribe, that no difficulty was experienced in reconstructing it. This reconstruction, however, does not enable us to determine the relation of the clan and dichotomous division to the distribution of the tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000-odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodlands of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which the Winnebago were found scattered not long after Nicolet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question, therefore, of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the general organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village, setting off one group against another. Systematic question-

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systematic question

ing has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or according to names descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known by similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *hoxo-ateira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'uha"teira*, "those living below", i. e., in the timber; *nixa'hateira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hųte xᵉdąominangera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may then suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization; whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. All that can be said is the fact that formerly *honi*, "band," seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjera* for clan; that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *reųoni* or *dęoni*, may mean Lake band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other types of organization. In North America there is quite considerable evidence tending to show that the village group organization often preceded in many places the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type of change, namely, the substitution for animal designation, with correlated associations of descent or connection with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the functions of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology—the historical succession of types of naming.

The Twofold Grouping

The Winnebago are divided into divisions, one known as the *waxᵉgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the *manegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals after whom the clans are named, the term *waxᵉgeregi* covering the birds, the term *manegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has the idea of division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions

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ceremonial connections: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest and southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the chief's lodge in the south, and the *manegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the bear or soldier lodge in the north (fig. 33). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis it is impossible to state. When this question was

FIG. 33.—Plan of village according to Thunderhead, of the Thunderbird clan.

directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed instead that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the center of the village (fig. 34).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that the first arrangement was always given by members of the bird clans, and the second arrangement by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *manegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship of these two types of village organization quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital relations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in different villages.

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of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

FIG. 34. Plan of village according to John Hare, of Bear clan. *A*, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). *B*, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. *C*, Lodge of Warrior clan. *D*, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waŋgeregi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*huŋk wohe*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *huŋk wohe* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division.

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her, there stood a very young woman, her hair like a shawl. "It is good, grandmother, and I thank you in the name of my aunts. Then for the second time she said, "Look at me." He looked at her and there stood a woman in middle age, her hair almost gray. "Well, grandmother, it is good, that is what I meant." Then for the fourth time she said, "Grandson, look at me." He looked at her. Her hair was entirely dried up, in the nape of her neck there was a hollow, and like a duck looking at the sun, she appeared. Her chin, like a wooden poker, burnt short, there she stood trembling. "Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts that is what I wished for them, and I thank you."

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Organization of the Bands

The medicine dance of the Winnebago consists of five bands. A sixth band is temporarily formed whenever the ceremony is given in honor of a deceased member.

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For purposes of description it will be best to divide each band into three parts—the leader, his two assistants, and the rest of the band. Leadership depends upon a thorough knowledge of the ceremony and its complete esoteric significance, which is in the possession of only a few individuals in each band. This knowledge can be obtained solely by purchase and religious qualifications. These religious qualifications, to which might be added moral as well, play little part at the present day, but there can be no doubt that they were essential in the past. The leader likewise often possessed other characteristics, such as those of warrior and shaman.

The two assistants were generally men who had purchased sufficient information and privileges to entitle them to help the leader in certain details of the ceremony. The drummers, rattle holders, dancers, etc., were always recruited from their ranks. Eventually they might become the leaders. Those who were neither leaders nor assistants possessed a knowledge varying from that of elementary information, required for admission, to that entitling them to the position of assistant.

There is a priority of position in the lodge, depending on priority of invitation. The band invited first occupies the east position; that invited second, the north; that invited third, the west; and that invited fourth, the south. The east is the position of highest honor; the south, that of the lowest. Between the bands there exists an order of invitation based on tradition, the exact nature of which is unknown. According to one informant, if one band invited another, the latter in turn would be obliged to give it the position of honor; but as there are five bands, this can apply only to special cases. Whatever may be the order, it is certain that each band has ample occasion to occupy all five positions.

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756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the hosts.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[202] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

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4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same. 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(a) To welcome the four bands.

(b) To lead the candidate to the sacred brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(c) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(d) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(e) To relate certain of the myths.

(f) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(a) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(b) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(c) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(d) To relate certain of the myths.

(e) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 621 756 431

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

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621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3¼ yards
756 of calico and a fourth of the food.
431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51-53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

Division of the ceremony.—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

Types and component elements of the ceremony. For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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614 this twofold interpretation really represents the war bundle in a two-
776 fold aspect, first apart from its association with the war-bundle feast and second from its association therewith.

That the clan is the unit of organization comes out clearly from the following facts: First, there are as many buckskins offered as there are clans; secondly, the order in which the guests are invited
[534] is determined by the reciprocal relations existing between the different clans; and, thirdly, by references in the speeches. That the clan unit, on the other hand, has influenced the ceremonial aspect of the feast is apparent from the fact that offerings are made to the clan animals. For example, in the following ceremony offerings are made to the Eagle and Wona'yire Waąkrik, who seem to be of slight importance apart from their association with the clan.

x 796 The ceremonial unit in all Winnebago societies consists of four
[701] bands, four representing the sacred number, and the ritual consists of the passing of the paraphernalia from one to the other unit until
621 it returns to the host. The war-bundle feast corresponds to the
571 other societies in every respect, except that instead of four there are ten bands (with the band of the host, representing the eleven existing clans of the tribe). Had not the consciousness of the relation of the war bundle to the clan been so strong the ceremonial unit would probably have been found here, as it is found in all the other ceremonies.

x 796 Summing up, then, we may say that the war-bundle feasts represent a mixed type corresponding exactly to no other Winnebago ceremony, and that beginning as a war feast it developed in addi-
[575 tion some of the features of a secret society of the type exemplified
614] by the Night Spirit society, with a unit of organization based on the clan; and that finally it became a general feast of thanksgiving to the entire Winnebago pantheon.[1]

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SPIRITS MENTIONED IN THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

776 All the spirits to whom offerings are made in the war-bundle feast are guardian spirits, with the exception of Earthmaker. Some of them are conceived of as being human, while others have animal forms, and still others have an indeterminate body. The peculiar spirit, Disease-giver, has a form of his own, his body being divided into two halves, one half dispensing death and the other life. Earthmaker has no form, and in the few cases that he has been known to bless individuals he always lets his presence be known by some sign. There is generally a difference between the conception of the spirit as such and the form that he is supposed to assume

[1] The order in which these aspects are enumerated is not to be taken as representing a direct line of evolution.

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tribe over the large area once occupied in Wisconsin. That the 4,000 odd individuals composing the tribe at the advent of the whites lived together is extremely doubtful. The nature of the woodland of Wisconsin and the fairly extensive territory over which they (Winnebago) were found scattered not long after Nicollet's first visit are facts that practically exclude such a hypothesis. The myth that speaks of a village that at one time was so long that those living at one end did not know what was transpiring at the other, contains too many literary touches to justify its use as an historical document.

The question of village groups is of considerable importance, because there may have been, cutting across the gentle organization, another smaller, perhaps looser social unit, that of "band" or village setting off (to the minds of the people) one group against another. Systematic questioning has elicited from various individuals the information, also corroborated by historical records, that the villages were generally known according to geographical location or were descriptive of the haunts of certain animals. Even to-day the group scattered over the Nebraska Winnebago reservation are commonly known under similar designations. There we find, for instance, the following names: *hozo-atcira*, "those living on the peninsula"; or *k'ųhą'te-ira*, "those living below," i.e., in the timber; *niwą'hatcira*, "those living near the dirty water"; *hųtcxdegominaŋgera*, "where big bear settles," etc. If we may, then, suppose this to have been a customary association, we may quite properly ask whether the name of the village had any influence on the social organization, whether there is even a hint at a genetic relation between these two types of group names. The only hint of such a relation is the fact that formerly *honi* "band" seems to have been used instead of *hokik'aradjara;* that an archaic name of the Wolf clan, *regoni* or *degoni*, may mean Lake-band; and that the villages all had geographical names. All of which, however, is, I realize, hardly sufficient evidence.

No satisfactory demonstration has as yet been made indicating that the clan organization was ever associated with an historically simple social structure, whereas quite a number of reasons lead us to suspect that it was in all cases preceded by other

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division," it pertains to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *mąųegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans having had scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *mąųegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *mąųegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *mąųegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

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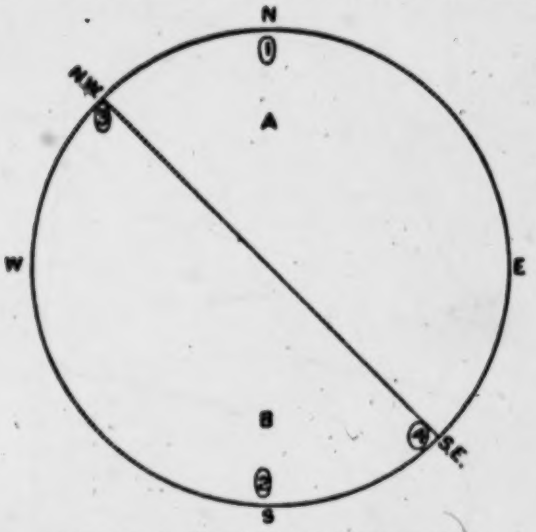

Figure 1. A, *Mąųegi* side; B, *Waŋgeregi* side.
1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan;
3, Lodge of Warrior clan; 4, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and ceremonial connexions: first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the war-path; third, as the basis of organization at the "chief" feast; and lastly, as the basis of organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game.

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614 616 621 According to the majority of the older people, when the old social organization was still intact, each village was divided into two halves by an imaginary line running due northwest by southeast, the *waŋgeregi* clans dwelling in one half, with the Chief's lodge in the south, and the *mąŋegi* clans dwelling in the other half, with the Bear or Soldier lodge in the north (Figure 1). Although this arrangement has now become almost legendary, it was corroborated by many of the older people. To what extent every village was organized on this basis, it is impossible

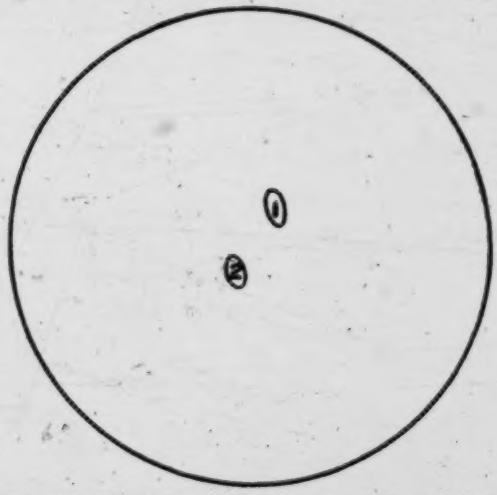

Figure 2. 1, Lodge of Bear clan; 2, Lodge of Thunderbird clan.

to tell. When this question was directly put to individuals, the answer was always in the affirmative. Quite a number of old individuals, however, denied vigorously that such had ever been the organization of the village, and claimed, instead, that the lodges of the Chief and the Soldier (Bear) clan were in the centre of the village (Figure 2).

In looking over the clan affiliations of the informants, we noticed, however, that arrangement 1 was always given by members of the bird clans, and arrangement 2 by members of the Bear clan and generally also by others on the *mąŋegi* side. This fact, of course, makes the decision as to the relationship

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Tciwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *waŋgeregi* would be on the south and the two for the *maŋegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huŋk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huŋk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huŋk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waŋgeregi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *waŋgeregi* are always pitted against the *maŋegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *waŋgeregi* and *maŋegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *waŋgeregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiŋa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconaŋke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located—the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconaŋke* is unknown to-day, but it may be of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconaŋke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *naŋke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *naŋke ico*.

Legendary Grouping of Clans.

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

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origin of the tribe is due to the literary-legendary tendency towards uniformity, is, on the whole, quite likely. This seems illustrated by the fact that the Warrior and Buffalo clans in some of the versions of their clan myths claim specific places, while others claim Green bay as their ancestral home. Green bay must, therefore, be considered as one of probably many local associations, connected with a prominent clan, which came to be accepted in the course of time by most of the others.

Arrangement of Clans in Village.

As in Figure 1, all the clans of the *wangeregi* division except the Thunderbird and Warrior, could occupy any position in the half-circle, and the same was true of those of the *mąnegi* division except the Bear clan. The Buffalo clan seems to have been grouped on the *wangeregi* side. However, in both divisions the members of each clan had to be grouped together, a segregation that was further emphasized by the erection near each clan of an earthen effigy of the clan animal. According to all informants, each village was inhabited by members of various clans; in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan, as seems to have been the case among the Menomini. Among the latter, village exogamy probably existed, while no trace of this is found among the Winnebago. This clan segregation in every Winnebago village became, after a while, practically identical with blood relationship, although the close relationship existing between members of the same clan may also partially represent the persistence of a local group consciousness.

This distribution of the same clan over many villages would, indeed, seem to militate against the local group origin of the clans, but it must be remembered that the clan organization was of considerable age and there is no reason to suppose that the local groups could have had any influence now discernible. The village arrangement must, of course, not be pushed too hard, for we should expect a tendency on the part of informants whose knowledge was entirely hearsay, to cast their information in a more or less schematic mould. The old village sites seem to indicate that the bird effigy was dominant in some places and

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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174 the bear in others, although both are also often found together.

614 Looking at our facts from another point of view, it is quite clear that clan segregation must not be taken too literally. 621 Clan exogamy would necessarily prevent that. If the old exogamy of the two divisions was in force and a man was thus compelled to marry into his mother's division but not into her clan, every village would have had to be arranged in an extremely artificial manner, that was not likely to have occurred frequently. [591] That a man often lived with his parents-in-law, would in addition again disorganize the regularity of the scheme. Finally, we have the evidence of the myths, which often speak of a man as departing on a journey when seeking a bride. All these customs, cutting across the village scheme in a number of ways, must have rendered it a rather complex unit. That, in spite of all this, clan exogamy could have been maintained even in a small village is unquestionable, but the reason for this lay, we suspect, in the limitation of the concept of blood-relations. With these considerations in mind, we may, then, admit clan segregation.

Individual Names.

614 With the animal appellation of the clan, one naturally 551 associates animal names of individuals, for there is, indeed, a correlation between them. Animal names of individuals 182 are, however, frequently found when the social units have names of an entirely different kind. A similar lack of correlation exists between the manner and system of naming and the type of social organization. That, on the other hand, the social organization may fundamentally influence the nature of the individual name is also apparent. Only with these points in mind can the Winnebago individual names become intelligible.

614 The study of Winnebago names can be approached from a 551 purely static point of view, and the attempt made to bring them analytically under a certain system of naming; or, on the 174 other hand, from a dynamic historical view-point. We shall try to undertake both. Every clan has a distinct set of names.

The Winnebago individual names lend themselves easily to categories of classification. We have the following classes:

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913), 1915
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dividual and clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious, in the latter only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hitcɛgɛ* relation, the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro*, and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* may be all of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation even of a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'ɔ'ro*[1] relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'ɔ'ro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bone was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relationship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[1] [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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lodge of the Buffalo clan is on the *wangeregi* side of the village circle, although the Buffalo clan is one of the *mąnegi* clans. In explanation of this fact we might, on the one hand, assume that its relationship to the chief clan influenced its position in the village, or that it always was there. The latter seems rather improbable, in the face of the unanimity of agreement as to its inclusion among the *mąnegi* clans, and we may, therefore, provisionally accept the hypothesis of a shifting of position from one side to the other. As this might entail a possible readjustment of the Buffalo clan, as regards exogamy, we tried to obtain as many instances of Buffalo intermarriages as possible. No case of intermarriage with the *wangeregi* clans was found. However, as only eight cases were instanced, no safe inference can be drawn.

The "servant" relation of the Elk clan to the Thunderbird expresses itself in the fact that the former takes care of the fire-places of the latter while on the warpath, etc., and that the members are supposed to distribute the fire to the other clans. In the social customs this relationship is perhaps shown by a certain preference of the Elk to intermarry with the Thunderbird clan. This preference is not reciprocal. The word preference is used with the added significance of being consciously expressed, and differs from a tendency to intermarriage which may exist between the clans, but which is not present in their consciousness. Some Winnebago informants even went so far as to postulate a *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation between the Elk and Thunderbird clan.

Among the Osage a marked development of the "servant" relationship is found.

Viewed from a broad point of view, the reciprocal social and religious services of one clan toward another in the *hitcak'ɔ'ro* and "servant" relations are similar in nature to the political functions of the clan, and they may be taken as another indication of the association of political, social, and religious functions with a strongly individualized social unit.

The Specific Possessions of the Clan.

Among the Omaha, a number of clans have in their possession certain objects, around which not merely the clan but also

3: Michelson E-4 (no date) 1935
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than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgā is a large species of turtles, and that kė also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.